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ABSTRACT

Spouse abuse research has indicated that marital violence occurs in all age groups, among all races, and in all levels of education and social class. To provide further information by comparing battered and exbattered women, 18 battered and 14 exbattered women completed a questionnaire about themselves and their assailants. Information was collected on sociodemographics, relationships, intergenerational violence patterns, and substance abuse history. In addition, the Levenson Internal, Powerful Others, and Chance locus of control scales were administered to the women. An analysis of the results showed that four variables differentiated battered women from exbattered women: (1) battered women, more than exbattered women, had more education than their abusers; (2) battered women had fewer children than exbattered women; (3) battered women had been punished physically less frequently as children than exbattered women; and (4) battered women more often reported a relationship between their alcohol use and physical abuse than did exbattered women. Battered women perceived events as determined by powerful others or chance. Exbattered women were able to regain some sense of control and attribute events to internal factors. These differences may account for the resistance of battered women to leave their abusers, and the ability of exbattered women to terminate their potentially destructive relationships. (BL)

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Abusive Relationships:
A Comparison of Battered and Exbattered Women

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Abstract

Sociodemographic data, relationship information, intergenerational violence patterns, and substance abuse history were examined for 18 battered women, 14 exbattered women, and their assailants. Four variables differentiated battered women from exbattered women: (a) Battered women were more educated than their abusers, (b) battered women had less children than exbattered women, (c) battered women were physically punsihed as children less frequently than exbattered women, and (d) battered women reported a relationship between their alcohol use and physical abuse more often than exbattered women. The Levenson (1972, 1974) Internal, Powerful Others, and Chance locus of control scales were also administered. Battered women perceived events as determined by powerful others or chance. Exbattered women were able to regain some sense of control and attribute events to internal factors. Differences between battered and exbattered women were seen as accountable for the resistance battered women have to leaving their abusers and the ability exbattered women have in terminating their potentially destructive relationships.

Abusive Relationships:

A Comparison of Battered and Exbattered Women

During the past decade, spouse abuse has received increasing attention in mental health literature. Reviews of spouse abuse literature have indicated that marital violence occurs in all age groups, among all races, and in all levels of education and social class (Goodstein & Page, 1981; Hilberman, 1980). The majority of researchers have gathered information from battered women concerning historical, cultural, and family factors contributing to the incidence of marital abuse (Carlson, 1977; Flynn, 1977; Gayford, 1975; Gelles, 1972, 1977; Hanks & Rosenbaum, 1977; Hilberman & Munson, 1977-78; Korlath, 1979; Labell, 1979; Pagelow, 1981; Rounsaville, 1978; Roy, 1977, 1982; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). Fewer researchers have compared battered and nonbattered women on these variables (Coleman, Weinman, & Bartholomew, 1980; Parker & Schumacher, 1977; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; Star, 1978).

The research has shown that violence and the tolerance of violence are learned phenomena. People who as children observed violence between their parents or who were themselves victims of physical or sexual abuse are more likely to become battered women (Coleman et al., 1980; Gelles, 1972; Hilberman & Munson, 1977-1978; Parker & Schumacher, 1977) or batterers (Coleman, 1980; Flynn, 1977; Gelles, 1972; Hilberman & Munson, 1977-78; Labell, 1979; Pagelow, 1981; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; Roy, 1977, 1982; Straus et al., 1980) than people who never witnessed parental spouse abuse or were not subject to abuse as children. Batterers and battered women have been reported to abuse their children (Flynn, 1977; Gayford, 1975; Hilberman & Munson, 1977-78; Straus et al., 1980). Alcohol and drug use have also been related to battering (Carlson, 1977; Coleman et al., 1980; Gayford, 1975; Gelles, 1972; Hanks & Rosenbaum, 1977; Hilberman & Munson, 1977-78; Korlath, 1979; Labell, 1979; Rounsaville, 1978; Roy, 1982). In addition, differences in the patterns of abuse such as severity and frequency have been

found to have differential effects on battered women (Carlson, 1977; Gelles, 1977). Finally, the literature has reported status inconsistency between battered women and their assailants (Carlson, 1977; Gelles, 1972; Rounsaville, 1978; Straus et al., 1980; Walker, 1983).

Only two studies have compared battered and exbattered women (Parker & Schumacher, 1977; Walker, 1983). In comparing battered and nonbattered women, Parker and Schumacher (1977) identified a sub-group of women they called Violence Syndrome Averters (VSAs). They found significantly less violence in the family of origin of VSAs than in the family of battered women. Walker (1983) compared women still in battering relationships, women out of abusive relationships for less than one year, and women out of abusive relationships for more than one year. Measurement of learned helplessness revealed that women still in a violent relationship reported more childhood helplessness and less current helplessness than the other women. Walker (1983) also administered the Levenson (1972, 1974) Internal (I), Powerful Others (P), and Chance (C) locus of control scales. Contrary to her hypothesis, women still in an abusive relationship did not report powerful others or chance as being in control of their lives and reported a higher level of internality than the norms. Women out of violent relationships less than one year and women out of violent relationships over one year scored higher than the norms on all three locus of control scales.

The present study attempted to provide further information concerning the comparison of battered and exbattered women. Descriptive profiles of battered and exbattered women were comprised including the following factors: sociodemographic data, relationship information, intergenerational violence patterns, and substance abuse history. The women were also asked to answer questions about their assailants so that composites based on their reports could be formulated for batterers and exbatterers.

It was expected that battered and exbattered women would have similar demo-

graphic backgrounds and similar experiences with their abusive relationships, violence in their family of origin, and substance abuse. However, significant differences would be able to account for the resistance battered women have to leaving their abusers and the ability exbattered women have in terminating their potentially destructive relationships..

The Levenson (1972, 1974) I, P, and C locus of control scales were also administered to battered and exbattered women. Since the findings of Walker (1983) were contrary to clinical observations of battered women, which report that victims of marital violence have no sense of control over their lives (Ball & Wyman, 1977-78; Davidson, 1978; Walker, 1977-78), it was expected that the results would disconfirm Walker's (1983) findings. It was hypothesized that women in abusive relationships or women who had just recently left abusive relationships would feel that events were beyond their control and determined by powerful others or chance. In addition, women who had been away from abusive relationships for a considerable amount of time would have regained some sense of control and perceive events as contingent upon their own behavior. The results from the locus of control measures were expected to provide further information regarding the difficulty battered women have in ending their abusive relationships.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were 18 battered women and 14 exbattered women from the Committee to Aid Abused Women in Reno, Nevada, and the Advocates to End Domestic Violence in Carson City, Nevada. Battered women were women who were living with their assailants or had been separated for less than one month. Exbattered women were women who had been separated from their assailants for at least six months. Women were asked to participate if they had sustained one battering incident. Battering, abuse, or assault was defined as deliberate, physical injury by a

mate. Women did not need to be married to their abusers.

Measures

A written questionnaire battery including two measures was administered to all subjects. A 70-item background questionnaire developed by the author gathered information concerning: demographic characteristics of subjects and assailants; information specific to the abusive relationship between subjects and abusers; physical and sexual abuse witnessed and sustained by subjects and assailants; physical and sexual abuse of children by subjects and assailants; and alcohol and drug use of subjects, assailants, and their parents. The Levenson (1972, 1974) I, P, and C locus of control scales were administered in their standard form. These are presented as a unified self-report measure comprised of 24 items on a Likert six-point scale.

Procedure

Workers and volunteers at the Committee to Aid Abused Women and Advocates to End Domestic Violence administered the questionnaire battery to battered and exbattered women who met the subject criteria. All women were receiving services from the agencies at the time of participation or had received services in the past. Participation was voluntary and services were not contingent upon participation. Subjects took approximately 30 to 45 minutes to complete the questionnaire battery.

Results

Sociodemographic Characteristics

The demographic factors explored in this study included age, race, education, occupation, income, parental presence or absence in family of origin, and number of children. A partial summary of this data is presented in Table 1. The sample size differs slightly for each category because of missing data.

Battered women ranged from 19 to 40 years of age with the mean 29.00 years. Exbattered women were significantly older than battered women ($t = 2.83$, $p < .01$).

Exbattered women ranged from 28 to 45 years of age with the mean 35.38 years. However, when comparing the ages of battered women with the ages at which exbattered women left their abusers ($\bar{X}$ = 32.64), the mean age difference disappeared (t = 1.50, $n.s.$). Abusers ranged from 19 to 44 years of age with the mean 32.00 years. Exabusers ranged from 28 to 45 years of age with the mean 36.00 years.

Subjects and their assailants were predominantly white with the other ethnic groups represented infrequently. A wide range of occupational statuses were depicted. Approximately half of the women worked in service, technical, and sales occupations and 19% claimed no occupation. It is probable that the majority of women who claimed no occupation worked as housewives. Approximately half of the men were employed as operators, laborers, manufacturers, or transporters. The other half worked in a wide variety of occupations.

Educational background for the two groups of women was similar. Formal schooling ranged from 10 to 16 years for both groups with the means 12.78 years for battered women and 12.71 years for exbattered women. Abusers ranged from 0 to 16 years of schooling and averaged 11.00 years. Exabusers ranged from 10 to 16 years of schooling and averaged 12.77 years.

Subjects were asked to report their personal income level and the level of total income they depend on. The majority of women earned less than $10,000 and depended on less than $15,000. Based upon these finding it would be incorrect to conclude that battering is a lower class or lower-middle class phenomena since public agencies such as the Committee to Aid Abused Women and Advocates to End Domestic Violence serve primarily people from lower socioeconomic levels. Personal income for abusers and exabusers was similar and spread among all income levels. Inquiry was not made regarding a second level of income for men.

To indicate status inconsistency, differences in education and personal income level between the women and their assailants were investigated. Status

reversal was evident in education for battered women only. The mean difference in years of formal schooling between battered women and their abusers was 1.17 ($p < .05$). The mean difference between exbattered women and their exabusers was 0.00 (n.s.). Although better educated, battered women differed an average of -1.17 ($p < .05$) income levels from their abusers. The average income level difference between exbattered women and their exabusers was -0.41 (n.s.).

Inquiry involving the absence or presence of parental figures in the families of origin revealed that approximately two-thirds of all subjects and their assailants were raised in intact homes and one-third in broken homes. Intact homes were defined as homes with two parents or guardians. Broken homes included living with one parent, combination of parent(s) and stepparent(s), relatives, and in foster homes or correctional institutions.

Fifteen (83%) of the battered women and all fourteen (100%) of the exbattered women reported having children. The number of children for battered women ranged from zero to four with the mean 1.60 children. Exbattered women reported significantly more children; the number ranged from one to 11 with the mean 3.21 children ($t = 2.62$, p .01). Mean number of children living with their mother was lower for both groups. Battered women housed 0.87 children and exbattered women housed 2.21 children ($t = 2.56$, p .05).

Information Concerning the Abusive Relationship

Differential patterns of abuse were infrequently revealed between battered and exbattered women (see Table 2). Apparently, the two groups of women sustained similar experiences. The length of the relationship between the women and their assailants varied from three to six months to over 15 years. For the majority of women the abuse lasted as long as or just slightly less than the relationship. The extent of the abuse was mild for 9%, moderate for 16% and severe for 69% of the women. The frequency of the abuse ranged from once to weekly with 44% enduring abuse monthly.

During the abusive period, assailants were either spouses (63%) or boyfriends (25%) to the women. Thirteen percent of the men abused the women prior to marriage and during marriage, with 6% continuing to abuse the women after the marriage terminated. Chi-square analysis revealed that the current relationship for battered and exbattered women with their assailants was significantly different ($\underline{X}^2 = 14.78$, $\underline{p} < .01$). Exbattered women who had been married to their exabusers were now separated (14%), divorced (50%), or widowed (7%). Exbattered women who had been girlfriends to their exabusers were now exgirlfriends (21%) or friends (&%). Battered women who were married to their abusers were either still married (39%) or had made steps towards terminating the marriage--28% separated and 6% divorced. Battered women who were girlgriends to their abusers considered themselved exgirlfriends (22%) or friends (6%).

Exbattered women had been away from their exabusers longer than battered women had been away from their abusers ($\underline{z} = 4.94$, $\underline{p} < .0001$). Battered women had either left their abusers one month prior to the study (50%), one week prior (44%) or had not left their abusers (6%). Exbattered women had either left their exabusers six to 12 months prior to the study (36%) or had been separated from their abusers one to 12 years (64%). Sixty-nine percent of the total women had left their assailants and then returned. The longest time to temporarily leave the abusers and exabusers ranged from one week or less to over one year. Thirty-four percent of total women had been involved in at least one other abusive relationship.

Intergenerational Patterns of Physical and Sexual Abuse

Nine variables explored the history of abuse across three generations (see Table 3). Analyses with the Mann-Whitney U corrected for ties revealed that battered and exbattered women differed on only one variable; exbattered women had been physically punished as children more frequently than battered women ($\underline{z} = 2.31$, $\underline{p} < .05$). On the average, exbattered women were physically

punished as children at least once a year to at least once a month. On the average, battered women were physically punished as children less than once a year to at least once a year. Abusers and exabusers did not differ significantly on any of the variables measuring patterns of intergenerational abuse.

Thirty-three percent of the total women reported having witnessed physical abuse between their parents or guardians, with 25% reporting moderate or severe abuse. The extent of parent abuse/spouse abuse was defined as: 1) Mild--shove, slap, etc.; 2) Moderate--hit with object, punch, kick, etc.; and 3) Severe--beat, cut, stab, burn, choke, anything life-threatening, anything requiring medical-type attention, etc. The frequency of parental spouse abuse ranged from once to at least once a week. In spite of the abuse, it was more often reported that the women's parents remained together rather than divorced.

Eighty-five percent of the total women admitted having been physically punished as children, with 22% reporting moderate or severe punishment. The extent of child abuse was defined as: 1) Mild--shove, slap, spank with hand, etc; 2) Moderate--spank with object, punch, kick, etc.; and 3) Severe--beat, cut, stab, burn, choke, anything life threatening, anything requiring medical-type attention, etc. Twenty-eight percent of the total women were victims of childhood sexual abuse, with 13% reporting sexual abuse by a family member and 16% reporting sexual abuse by a nonfamily member.

Eighty-seven percent of the total women admitted physically punishing their own children, with 12% reporting moderate or severe punishment. The frequency of physical punishment was more often reported as at least once a year and at least once a month. Only 3% of the total women reported having sexually molested their own children.

According to the reports of the battered and exbattered women, 44% of the total men witnessed physical abuse between their parents or guardians, with 35% witnessing moderate or severe abuse. Few of the women knew the frequency of

parental spouse abuse for the assailants, therefore, an accurate statement on this variable can not be made. As was evident for the abusive parents of women, it was more often reported that the abusive parents of the men remained together rather than divorced.

Reportedly, 57% of the total men were physically punished as children, with 44% moderately or severely punished. Since few of the women knew the frequency of the childhood physical punishment sustained by the assailants an accurate comment on this variable can not be made. Three percent of the men had been victims of childhood incest.

Battered and exbattered women reported that 53% of the total men physically punished the women's children, with 28% punishing the children moderately or severely. The frequency of physical punishment was more often reported as at least once a year and at least once a month. Only 3% of the total men were reported as having sexually molested the children.

History of Alcohol and Drug Abuse

Six variables explored the use and abuse of alcohol and drugs for battered women, exbattered women, abusers, exabusers, and their respective parents or guardians (see Table 4). The relationship between substance abuse and physical abuse was also explored. Analyses with Mann-Whitney U corrected for ties revealed that battered and exbattered women differed significantly on only one variable; battered women related their own alcohol use to the physical abuse inflicted by their abusers more often than exbattered women ($z = 2.50$, $p < .01$). On the average, battered women felt that their alcohol use and physical abuse were related occasionally, while exbattered women felt that these were not related at all. Only 5% of the total women reported frequent alcohol use and 3% reported drinking to the point of alcoholism. Drug use was reported as occuring frequently in 3% of the total women.

Abusers and exabusers did not differ significantly on any of the substance

abuse variables. However, according to the women, alcohol and drug abuse were predominant in the lives of the assailants. Fifty percent of total men were reported to use alcohol frequently or to the point of alcoholism, with alcohol use and battering related for 79% of the men. Thirty-seven percent were reported to use drugs frequently or to the point of addition, with drug use and battering related for 38% of the men.

Patterns of drug abuse for parents or guardians revealed that alcohol was used frequently or to the point of alcoholism by 38% of the women's parents and 47% of the men's parents. Drug abuse was reported infrequently for parents. Post hoc analysis showed that when viewing substance abuse for the mothers of women and men combined, on the average mothers of battered women and abusers tended to use alcohol and drugs frequently, whereas, mothers of exbattered women and exabusers tended to use these substances occasionally ($z = 2.01$, $p < .05$). The higher drinking patterns of the abusers' mothers were primarily responsible for the difference.

Locus of Control

Table 5 contains the mean scores on the Levenson (1972, 1974) I, P, and C scales for battered women and exbattered women. Comparative norms for women are also provided (Levenson, 1972, 1974). Results indicate that locus of control differentiates battered women from exbattered women and the normal population. Battered women perceived significantly less internal control than exbattered women ($t = 2.08$, $p < .05$). There was no significant difference between the two groups of women on the P ($t = 1.45$, n.s.) and C ($t = 1.33$, n.s.) scales. Item analysis revealed that battered women agreed more strongly than exbattered women with a P scale item--My life is chiefly controlled by powerful others ($t = 3.05$, $p < .01$). It was the only locus of control item in which battered women and exbattered women significantly differed.

Compared with the norms, battered women, exbattered women, and total subjects

did not differ significantly on the I scale (t = 0.90, 0.97, 0.08, n.s.). Battered women believed they were controlled by powerful others (t = 3.76, $p < .001$) and chance (t = 3.40, $p < .001$) to a greater extent than the norms. Differences between exbattered women and the normal samples were insignificant on the P and C scales (t = 1.63, 1.53, n.s.). When combining scores for battered and exbattered women significant differences were maintained on the P (t = 3.50, $p < .001$) and C (t = 3.27, $p < .01$) scales.

Mean differences between scores on the P and C scales were insignificant for battered women, exbattered women, and total subjects. This finding is consistent with that of the normal sample of women (Levenson, 1972, 1974). Correlations among the three scales indicated that the P and C scales correlated moderatly with each other for battered women (r = .53, $p < .01$), exbattered women (r = .55, $p < .05$), and total subjects (r = .56, $p < .001$). The P scale was negatively correlated with the I scale for battered women (r = -.43, $p < .05$), exbattered women (r = -.68, $p < .01$), and total subjects (r = -.54, $p < .001$). The C scale was negligibly related to the I scale for battered women (r = -.10, n.s.), exbattered women (r = -.24, n.s.), and total subjects (r = -.22, n.s.).

Discussion

The present study showed that battered and exbattered women shared similar experiences on variables measuring sociodemographic characteristics, relationship information, intergenerational violence patterns, and substance abuse history. However, the women differed on four measures which may contribute to the reasons battered women remain with their abusers and the reasons exbattered women are able to finally leave their exabusers: 1) Status inconsistency--Battered women were more educated than their abusers, which possibly allowed their intellectual domination to compensate for their abusers' physical domination. 2) Alcohol use--Battered women reported a relationship between their own alcohol use and physical abuse more often than exbattered women. This self-attribution

of blame may have led the battered women to believe they deserved to be punished and that the abusers were justified in their actions, causing them to remain in the relationship. The fact that the mothers of battered women and their abusers drank alcohol more frequently than the mothers of exbattered women and their exabusers, may help explain why battered women viewed their own alcohol use as responsible for the physical abuse. 3) Children--Exbattered women had significantly more children than battered women. Concern regarding the children witnessing the abuse or being subject to abuse themselves may have been an incentive for exbattered women to terminate their abusive relationships. 4) Punishment as children--Exbattered women were physically punished as children more frequently than battered women, possibly causing them to be less tolerant of abuse by their mates and more desirous of ending the relationship. Consistent with the findings of Pagelow (1981), severity and frequency of physical abuse by the assailants did not account for the decision of exbattered women to end their relationships.

Based upon the reports of the women there were no variables which differentiated the abusers of the battered women from the exabusers of the exbattered women. Apparantly, assailants have no distinguishing characteristics which may account for women either remaining in abusive relationships or terminating these relationships.

The results of the study offer support to clinical observations that battered women feel helpless and lack a sense of control over their lives. Battered women perceived powerful others and chance factors as determining their life events, feeling helpless and ineffective in initiating change. Although 94% of the battered women had recently left their abusers, they were still in the "battered state"; psychologically and emotionally they were still functioning as they had prior to leaving their abusers. However, six months after terminating their relationships with their assailants, exbattered women were able to dissociate from the "battered state", regain a sense of internal control, and not attribute events to external factors.

These findings are in opposition to the findings of Walker (1983); the battered women in her study lacked the awareness that the batterer had control over their lives and the exbattered women were still troubled by their battering experiences. It is possible that the two studies differed in regard to their samples of battered women and exbattered women. For example, Walker (1983) included women who had been battered at least two times, whereas the present study required that women experience battering only once. In addition, she made an effort to include a special group of women who had killed their batterers. However, since Walker (1983) described her subjects in vague, general terms, failing to provide statistical data on the sociodemographic constitution and nature of her groups, it is difficult to adequately compare the samples so that an account can be made regarding the differences between the two studies.

The findings in the present study have important therapeutic implications. Mental health professionals need to make battered women aware of how factors such as status inconsistency, physical punishment as children, and alcohol use may be contributing to their inability to leave their abusers. In addition, they need to address the issue of control and aid the battered women in regaining a sense of mastery over their lives. Once the relationship between these factors and their role as victims is understood, these women can progress toward constructive changes. Future research needs to be directed towards exbattered women to delineate the process they underwent to overcome their difficulties, regain mastery over their own lives, and terminate relationships potentially destructive to them.

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Table 1

Sociodemographic Characteristics

Variable	Battered Women		Exbattered Women		Total Women		Abusers		Exabusers		Total Men	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Race												
White	16	89	12	86	28	88	16	89	12	86	28	88
Black	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	1	3
Hispanic	0	0	1	7	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Asian	1	6	0	0	1	3	1	6	0	0	1	3
Native American	1	6	1	7	2	6	1	6	1	7	2	6
Occupation												
Professional	0	0	1	7	1	3	0	0	2	14	2	6
Management & Administration	0	0	2	14	2	6	1	6	0	0	1	3
Technical	3	17	3	21	6	19	1	6	1	7	2	6
Sales	4	22	1	7	5	16	3	17	0	0	3	9
Service	3	17	4	29	7	22	3	17	2	14	5	16
Farming	1	6	0	0	1	3	2	11	0	0	2	6
Operators, Laborers, Manufacturing & Transportation	2	11	0	0	2	6	8	44	7	50	15	47
None	5	28	1	7	6	19	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal Income												
No Income	4	22	0	0	4	13	0	0	1	7	1	3
$4,999 or less	6	33	5	36	11	34	5	28	1	7	6	19
$5,000 - $9,999	5	28	4	29	9	28	4	22	2	14	6	19
$10,000 - $14,999	1	6	2	14	3	9	4	22	3	21	7	22
$15,000 - $19,999	2	11	1	7	3	9	1	6	0	0	1	3
$20,000 - $29,999	0	0	2	14	2	6	2	11	2	14	4	13
$30,000 - $39,999	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	2	14	3	9
$40,000 or more	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	1	3
Total Income												
No Income	1	6	0	0	1	3						
$4,999 or less	6	33	5	36	11	34						
$5,000 - $9,999	2	11	2	14	4	13						
$10,000 - $14,999	4	22	4	29	8	25						
$15,000 - $19,999	4	22	0	0	4	13						
$20,000 - $29,999	1	6	3	21	4	13						
Family of Origin												
Intact	13	72	9	64	22	69	12	67	9	64	21	66
Broken	5	28	5	36	10	31	5	28	4	29	9	28

Table 2

Information Concerning the Abusive Relationship

Variable	Battered Women		Exbattered Women		Total Women	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Length of Relationship						
2 months or less	0	0	0	0	0	0
3-6 months	1	6	0	0	1	3
7-11 months	2	11	1	7	3	9
1 year	1	6	1	7	2	6
2 years	3	17	1	7	4	13
3-5 years	5	28	4	29	9	28
6-15 years	3	17	2	14	5	16
Over 15 years	3	17	5	36	8	25
Length of Abuse						
2 months or less	2	11	2	14	4	13
3-5 months	2	11	0	0	2	6
7-11 months	2	11	0	0	2	6
1 year	1	6	1	7	2	6
2 years	2	11	1	7	3	9
3-15 years	5	28	7	50	12	38
6-15 years	1	6	2	14	3	9
Over 15 years	3	17	1	7	4	13
Extent of Abuse						
Mild	1	6	2	14	3	9
Moderate	4	22	1	7	5	16
Severe	13	72	9	64	22	69
Frequency of Abuse						
Once	0	0	1	7	1	3
Less than once a year	1	6	1	7	2	6
At least once a year	5	28	2	14	7	22
At least once a month	11	61	3	21	14	44
At least once a week	1	6	5	36	6	19
At least once a day	0	0	0	0	0	0
Relationship to Abuser During Abusive Period						
Spouse	10	56	10	71	20	63
Boyfriend	5	28	3	21	8	25
Combination of relationships	3	17	1	7	4	13
Current Relationship to Abuser *						
Spouse	7	39	0	0	7	22
Ex-spouse, separated	5	28	2	14	7	22
Ex-spouse, divorced	1	6	7	50	8	25
Boyfriend	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exboyfriend	4	22	3	21	7	22
Friend	1	6	1	7	2	6
Widow	0	0	1	7	1	3
Currently Left Abuser **						
No	1	6	0	0	1	3
Yes, 1 week ago or less	8	44	0	0	8	25
Yes, 1 month ago or less	9	50	0	0	9	28
Yes, 6-12 months ago	0	0	5	36	5	16
Yes, over one year ago	0	0	9	64	9	28

Table 2 (cont.)

Information Concerning the Abusive Relationship

Variable	Battered Women		Exbattered Women		Total Women	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Prior Attempts to Leave Abuser						
No	6	33	4	29	10	31
Yes, once	1	6	2	14	3	9
Yes, twice	2	11	3	21	5	16
Yes, 3 times	2	11	4	29	6	19
Yes, 4 or more times	7	39	1	7	8	25
Longest Time to Temporarily Leave Abuser						
1 week or less	2	11	3	21	5	16
1 month or less	2	11	5	36	7	22
2 months	1	6	0	0	1	3
3 months	2	11	0	0	2	6
4-5 months	4	22	0	0	4	13
6-12 months	1	6	1	7	2	6
Over one year	0	0	1	7	1	3
Prior Abusive Relationships						
No	10	56	11	79	21	66
Yes, 1	6	33	1	7	7	22
Yes, 2	0	0	1	7	1	3
Yes, 3	1	6	1	7	2	6
Yes, 4 or more	1	6	0	0	1	3

* $p < .01$
** $p < .0001$

Table 3

Intergenerational Patterns of Physical and Sexual Abuse

Variable	Battered Women		Exbattered Women		Total Women		Abusers		Exabusers		Total Men	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Physical Abuse Between Parents												
No	10	56	9	64	19	59	2	11	4	29	6	19
Yes, mild	3	17	1	7	4	13	3	17	0	0	3	9
Yes, moderate	2	11	1	7	3	9	4	22	3	21	7	22
Yes, severe	3	17	2	14	5	16	2	11	2	14	4	13
Frequency of Parents' Abuse												
Once	2	11	0	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Less than once a year	3	17	1	7	4	13	2	11	0	0	2	6
At least once a year	0	0	1	7	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
At least once a month	3	17	1	7	4	13	0	0	1	7	1	3
At least once a week	0	0	1	7	1	3	1	6	0	0	1	3
At least once a day	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parents' Abuse X Divorce												
Yes	3	17	1	7	4	13	4	22	1	7	5	16
No	5	28	2	14	7	22	4	22	3	21	7	22
Physicaly Punished as a Child												
No	1	6	4	29	5	16	2	11	2	14	4	13
Yes, mild	14	78	6	43	20	63	2	11	2	14	4	13
Yes, moderate	13	17	3	21	6	19	6	33	2	14	8	25
Yes, severe	0	0	1	7	1	3	2	11	4	29	6	19
Frequency of Physical Punishment *												
Once	2	11	0	0.	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Less than once a year	8	44	2	14	10	31	1	6	0	0	1	3
At least once a year	3	17	2	14	5	16	1	6	1	7	2	6
At least once a month	4	22	4	29	8	25	0	0	0	0	2	6
At least once a week	1	6	1	7	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
At least once a day	0	0	1	7	1	3	1	6	1	7	0	0
Physically Punish Own Children												
No	2	11	2	14	4	13	6	33	5	36	11	34
Yes, mild	12	67	12	86	24	75	4	22	4	29	8	25
Yes, moderate	1	6	0	0	1	3	4	22	3	21	7	22
Yes, severe	0	0	0	0	3	9	0	0	2	14	2	6
Frequency of Physical Punishment												
Once	0	0	1	7	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Less than once a year	2	11	1	7	3	9	1	6	0	0	1	3
At least once a year	4	22	2	14	6	19	1	6	3	21	4	13
At least once a month	2	11	8	57	10	31	1	6	4	29	5	16
At least once a week	3	17	0	0	3	9	2	11	1	7	3	9
At least once a day	1	6	0	0	1	3	2	11	1	7	3	9
Sexually Molested as a Child												
Yes	5	28	4	29	9	28	1	6	0	0	1	3
No	12	67	10	71	22	69	7	39	6	43	13	41
Sexually Molest Own Children												
Yes	0	0	1	7	1	3	0	0	1	7	1	3
No	14	78	13	93	27	84	14	78	12	86	26	81

* $p < .05$

Table 4

History of Alcohol and Drug Abuse

Variable	Battered Women		Exbattered Women		Total Women		Abusers		Exabusers		Total Men	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Alcohol Use												
Never	2	11	3	21	5	16	1	6	3	21	4	13
Occasionally	14	78	9	64	23	72	7	39	5	36	12	38
Frequently	1	6	2	14	3	9	4	22	3	21	7	22
To the point of alcoholism	1	6	0	0	1	3	6	33	3	21	9	28
Drug Use												
Never	11	61	10	71	21	66	6	33	7	50	13	41
Occasionally	6	33	4	29	10	31	5	28	2	14	7	22
Frequently	1	6	0	0	1	3	6	33	3	21	9	28
To the point of addiction	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	2	14	3	9
Alcohol Use X Abuse *												
Never	7	39	10	71	17	53	1	6	2	14	3	9
Occasionally	5	28	1	7	6	19	6	33	6	43	12	38
Frequently	3	17	0	0	3	9	4	22	1	7	5	16
Always	1	6	0	0	1	3	6	33	2	14	8	25
Drug Use X Abuse												
Never	6	33	4	29	10	31	6	33	1	7	7	22
Occasionally	1	6	0	0	1	3	3	17	3	21	6	19
Frequently	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	11	2	14	4	13
Always	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	1	7	2	6
Parents Alcohol Use												
Never	2	11	3	17	5	16	3	21	1	7	4	13
Occasionally	7	39	8	45	15	47	3	21	4	29	7	22
Frequently	4	22	0	0	4	13	4	29	4	29	8	25
To the point of alcoholism	5	28	3	17	8	25	5	36	2	14	7	22
Parents Drug Use												
Never	16	89	13	72	29	91	11	79	5	36	16	50
Occasionally	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	2	14	3	9
Frequently	1	6	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
To the point of addiction	1	6	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0

* $p < .01$

Table 5

Locus of Control

Group	N	Internal		Powerful Others		Chance	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Comparison Norms	51	35.46	7.41	14.64	6.87	13.38	9.05
Total Subjects	31	35.32	5.31	20.61	8.42	19.90	8.25
Battered Women	18	33.72	5.51	22.44	9.34	21.56	7.91
Exbattered Women	13	37.54	4.29	18.07	6.45	17.62	8.46